THE WAR AND AFTER: NO 3

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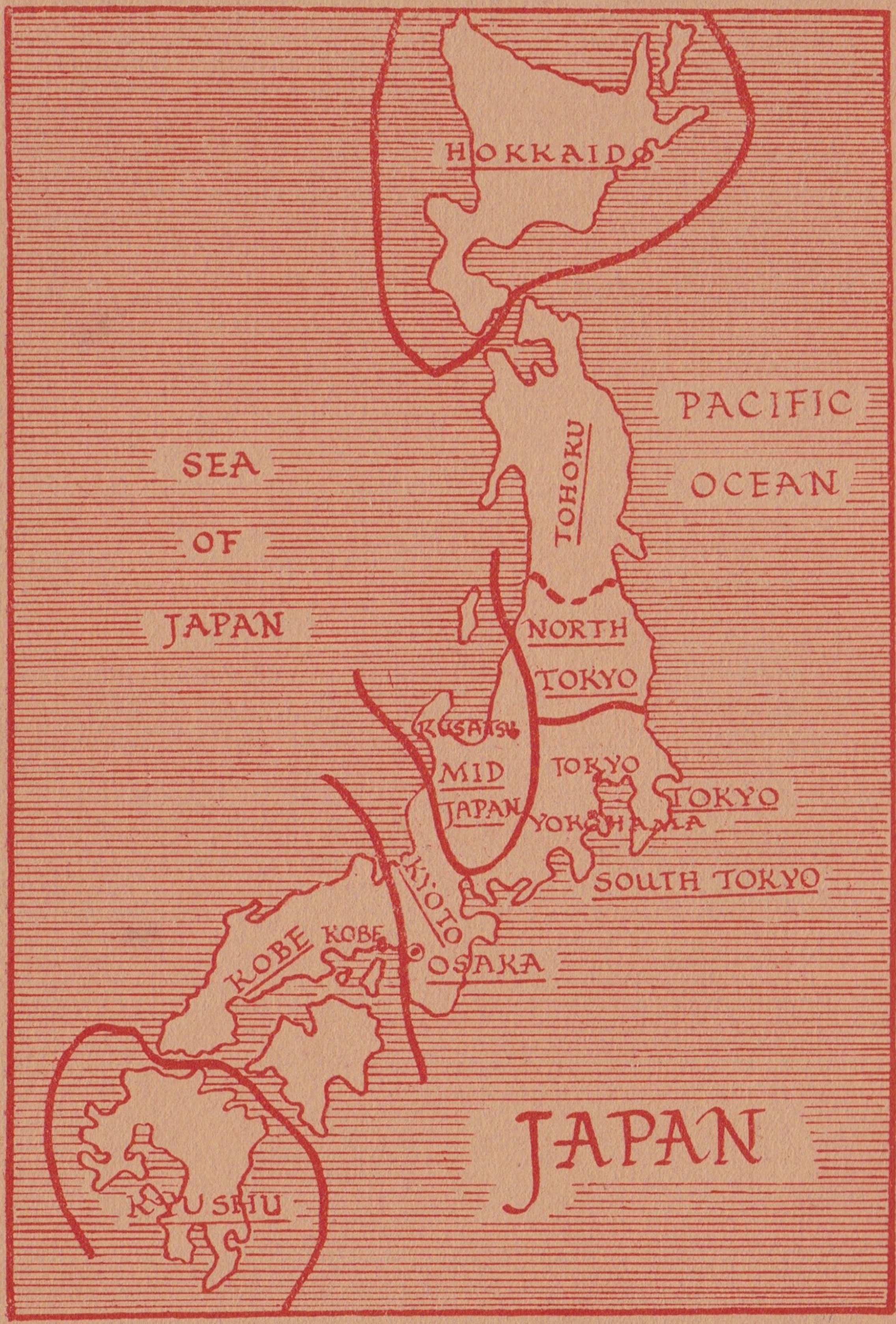
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THE WAR AND AFTER SERIES

No. III.

JAPAN

BY

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Note

Acknowledgments are due to the Rt. Rev. S. Heaslett, D.D., formerly Bishop in South Tokyo and Presiding Bishop of the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai and now Assistant Bishop in the Diocese of Sheffield, and also to the Rev. G. N. Strong, formerly S.P.G. Missionary in the Diocese of Kobe and now Vicar of Hoar Cross, Staffordshire, for much help in the compilation of this booklet.

CHAPTER I

JUBILEE CELEBRATION

ONE day in April 1937 large numbers of Japanese could have been seen converging on the grounds of the Central Theological College in the Tokyo suburb of Ikebukuro. Here in the spacious grounds of the College a large marquee had been erected, at one end of which was a platform with altar, cross and candlesticks. Notices and handbills gave the reason for this gathering and described the programme that was to extend over several days. It was to celebrate the jubilee of the establishment of the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai (the Anglican Church in Japan), and members of the Church were fore-gathering from all the dioceses of Japan to commemorate this event and to give thanks to God for His rich blessings during half a century.

Fifty years back from 1937 brings one to 1887. That year saw the holding of the first Synod of the N.S.K.K., but, of course, it does not take us back to the beginning of Anglican work in Japan; still less to the first coming of the Gospel.

That latter event occurred in 1549, the year of the first English Prayer Book, when St. Francis Xavier landed on the shores of Japan and brought to her people their first knowledge of the Christian faith. As a result of his work and of the work of those who came after him, a flourishing Church was built up in Western Japan, which seemed to have a promising future before it. Rivalries, however, between Portuguese Jesuits and Spanish Franciscans, the suspicion that both might be the forerunners of Western imperialism, and growing recognition of the conflict between the Christian faith and the traditional Japanese outlook, led to a change of attitude on the part of the authorities. The welcome of the early days changed to hostility, and hostility expressed itself in a long period of persecution and strife. Finally the Church, after a heroic record of martyrdom, was to all outward appearances obliterated, and notices were erected throughout the country declaring Christianity to be a hateful religion and threatening anyone who should adhere to its teachings with death.

As a result of this unhappy episode in her history Japan shut herself off from what she regarded as the corrupting

and colonising influences of the West for more than two centuries. It was not until 1853 that the first step towards the breaking down of this isolation was taken. In that year an American naval officer, Commodore Perry, presented Japan with the demands of his Government for the opening of two of her ports to the ships of the United States. The following spring the request was granted, the two ports soon became six, and before long all the barriers to travel and intercourse were down. Japan had entered the modern world.

The modern missionary movement in Japan dates from this period. As the knowledge of Western science and industry, politics and commerce, was acquired by Japan, so also a long line of missionaries from the United States and Britain and from many countries of Europe brought to her people the faith of Christ that has been the great spiritual force moulding the peoples of the West.

So far as the Anglican Church has been concerned, its work may conveniently be divided into four periods. The first period extended from 1859 to 1873. The ten years 1859-69 have been described as "the decade of terror," and they were certainly years of convulsion in which modern Japan was coming to the birth. New forces were opposed to the old, anti-foreignism was rife and hostility to the Christian Gospel was still intense. The two Episcopal missionaries from America who were the first representatives of our Church could not venture outside Nagasaki, and little indeed could be achieved.

The second period runs from 1873 to 1887. In the former year the anti-Christian notice-boards were removed and, though the laws forbidding any Japanese to embrace Christianity remained on the statute book, they became, in practice, a dead letter. The Episcopal mission from the United States extended its work, and the two chief English societies entered the field. C.M.S., indeed, had sent their first representative in 1869, but it was in the 'seventies that a definite Japan Mission developed. S.P.G. began its work n 1873.

There were thus three Anglican missions at work in Japan occupying many of the main centres, but all independent of each other. In 1878 the first steps were taken to bring the missions together, and it was agreed to use a common

translation of the Prayer Book as well as to co-operate with other Churches in the work of translating the Scriptures.

In 1887 came the next logical step—the welding of the three missions, and the congregations that were coming into being as a result of their work, into one corporate branch of the Anglican Communion. A draft constitution and canons had already been submitted to the mother churches of England and America, and at the first Synod of the Anglican Church in Japan, held in February of that year, these were accepted. The one difficulty was the name. Clearly the Church could not be called "the Church of England." "Protestant Episcopal Church" was suggested, but it was found that, when translated into Japanese, it carried the connotation "Society of the Revolting Overseers." In the end the title "Nippon Sei Ko Kwai" (literally "Holy Catholic Church of Japan") was chosen. This certainly avoided the charge of introducing denominational titles into the Church in a new land, but it has had its own difficulties. Some denominations have felt bound to translate the clause in the creed, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church" by other words than Sei Ko Kwai, in order to make it clear that they were not professing belief in the Anglican Communion!

It should be noted that even at the first Synod Japanese outnumbered foreigners. They could feel that they were not members of a foreign organisation, but members of the Japanese branch of a world-wide fellowship.

To the American Bishop Williams, one of the first Episcopal missionaries to enter Japan, and to the English Bishop Bickersteth, saintly, learned and with a clear grasp of Catholic order, the credit for this achievement is primarily due.

The third period stretches from 1887 to 1923. Despite some measure of reaction from the first flush of enthusiasm for everything Western that had gripped Japan after the Meiji Restoration, the Church made steady progress in numbers. In the year following the first Synod the total membership was 1,500; at the turn of the century the total had reached 10,000. Development also took place in Church organisation, and the country was divided up into territorial dioceses. Some of the great institutions, such as St. Paul's University and St. Luke's International Medical Centre, which have been one of America's great contributions to the

N.S.K.K., had their beginnings during this period; and the three missions also agreed to pool the training of clergy in a new Central Theological College. Missionaries from the Canadian Church entered the field during these years, the first arriving in 1888, and in 1912 the area for which they were responsible was constituted into a new diocese of Mid-Japan. For a number of years help also came from Australia.

So we come to the last period 1923-37. Japanese priests had for long been in a majority over foreign priests, but as yet there were no Japanese bishops. With the ending of the 1914-18 war and with Japan one of the victor countries, national pride, as well as a quite natural evolution of Church life, made it desirable that there should be Japanese representatives on the episcopal bench. Accordingly, the General Synod of 1923 agreed to the momentous step of organising two Japanese dioceses of Tokyo and Osaka. Before the bishops could be consecrated, however, Tokyo was devastated by the great earthquake of September 1st, and one of the two dioceses was laid in ruins. It was the time when the veteran Bishop McKim, of N. Tokyo, cabled to America his famous message, "All is lost save faith in God." In that spirit the project was carried through as planned, and the Rev. J. S. Motoda Ph.D., Director of St. Paul's University, became the first Bishop of Tokyo, and the Rev. Y. Naide the first bishop of the newly-constituted diocese of Osaka. A further extension of the Japanese episcopate took place in 1935, when the diocese of Mid-Japan asked for and received a Japanese bishop—the Rt. Rev. P. S. Sasaki, D.D.

So we come back to the Church's jubilee celebration at Ikebukuro. How did the Sei Ko Kwai stand after those fifty years? It had three Japanese and seven foreign bishops, nearly 250 Japanese clergy at work, both in Japan proper and in Manchuria and Formosa, some thirty foreign priests and a large number of lay workers, both men and women, foreign and Japanese. It had educational institutions in Tokyo and Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe and Sendai. It ran hospitals, either general or for consumptives or for lepers, in various parts of the country. It had its religious communities for men (the Cowley Fathers) and for women (the Epiphany Sisters from Truro), and a promising youth movement in a national branch of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. It possessed its own

publishing society, which worked in conjunction with S.P.C.K., and its own organisation for the work of newspaper evangelism.

Yet, with all that, the N.S.K.K. was still a small Church, less than a third of the size of the Roman Catholic Church and about fourth among the non-Roman Churches. Its nominal membership was 43,000, but its actual membership was only about 28,000. Its nominal communicant roll was 17,000, but its actual communicants numbered only some 12,000 or so. The rate of growth had been slowed up considerably as Japan gave herself more and more to the cult of mystic nationalism ; and there were other difficulties. Too much still depended on the imagination and support of the foreigners, and there was a lack of forcefulness in evangelism and in relating the Gospel to social problems and to the national spirit of the times.

These adverse factors were not forgotten, yet the first note to be sounded at the jubilee celebrations was inevitably and rightly the note of thanksgiving. No one who was present will forget how that note predominated at the great celebration of the Holy Eucharist that was the climax of the festival. Packed into the great marquee was a congregation of close on 2,000 people from all over Japan. It was an impressive sight in itself in a land where thirty or forty was the normal for an average parish congregation. But most impressive of all was the long line of communicants—men and women, old and young, rich and poor—who kept streaming up to the altar for over an hour. It was a moving demonstration of what God had done during fifty years and of the corporate life and fellowship He had given to His Church.

Yet the Church knew that difficult days lay ahead. And, as the members of that great congregation gave thanks to God for the past, so also they offered " themselves, their souls and bodies " for His service in the future, confident that the Divine Lord Who had given such rich blessings would guide and bless in all the future. So the Sei Ko Kwai entered its second half century, prepared by God's grace to face whatever problems that future might bring. Little, however, did anyone present at that service in April 1937 at Ikebukuro realise how great was the ordeal which the Church would have to undergo within the next few years.

CHAPTER II

YEARS OF CRISIS (1937-41)

When Japan emerged from her seclusion of over two centuries in the years following 1853, she found herself left far behind in the race of civilisation. The Western nations had made tremendous advances in geographical exploration, in imperial expansion, in industrial strength, in democratic thought, in education. So in the latter part of the nineteenth century Japan gave herself to the tremendous task of catching up, and it is no small evidence of her restless energy and genius for adaptation that in fifty years she had attained to the rank of a first-class Power.

In those years, however, Japan was so dazzled by the material achievements of the West that she forgot, to a large extent, that a civilisation is composed not only of a material superstructure, but also of a spiritual foundation. She was so concerned with the fine edifice she was erecting that she neglected to supply her people with the necessary basis of faith and standards for her new life.

It was in the years following the first world war that a new note began to be sounded in Japan. Japan was seeking to underpin her national life with firmer foundations and, having in earlier years rejected the Christian foundation of the West, she turned back for the purpose to her old traditions and legends that told of the Divine ancestry of the Imperial line, of Japan's unique polity and of the "Imperial Way." On the basis of those traditions she began to develop a strong sense of her particular mission in the world.

There were two reasons that led Japan in this direction. The first was World War I itself. By fulfilling her obligations under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and yet with the advantage of being far from the seat of fighting, Japan made a very good thing out of the war politically, commercially and financially. She began to realise the strength of her own position, while the holocaust in Europe disillusioned her about the merits of the West. That disillusionment was increased by the abrogation of the Alliance and by the passing of the anti-immigration laws in the U.S.A., both of which seemed to her ungrateful and unfair acts on the part of her erstwhile allies. Traditions of Divine origin and the like, therefore, both fitted in well

with Japan's newly-found strength among the nations and also served as balm to her wounded pride.

The second reason became more evident as the nineteen-twenties passed and Japan began to feel stresses and strains in her national life, particularly among her young people, who were swept first this way and then that, now by Marxism, now by "romance" (illicit and often ending in suicide), now by nihilism. Japan's traditions with all the mystic patriotism that could be developed out of them provided an ideology that not only accorded well with Japanese national pride, but also supplied a faith and a rallying point for her drifting masses. It was particularly gratifying to Japan to find, as she looked across the world to Mussolini's Italy, and later to the Germany of Adolf Hitler, that she was apparently very much in the latest fashion.

I have elsewhere sought to work out the theme that the explanation of Japan's tragedy is to be found in her attempt to build a superstructure of Western civilisation on a wrong spiritual foundation, and I have there tried to make clear the significance of State Shinto, as the faith which she developed for the purpose was called.* The point that it is important to note here is that Japanese Christians were not exempt from its influence. The Japanese mind is not clear-cut and analytical, as are minds trained in the tradition of Western logic. Rather, a Japanese is accustomed to "think with his instincts." Christians in Japan, then, shied away from any attempt to set the Christian Gospel and the faith of mystic nationalism in sharp contrast. They were conscious of a loyalty to God in Christ, and conscious also of a loyalty to the Emperor and Japan. About both they believed there was something "numinous" and sacred. Thus they were prepared to lean over backwards to avoid any direct clash, and they were ready to accede to the demands of the authorities in ways that were bound to arouse anxiety among their fellow workers from the West. Their attitude was that expressed in the old Chinese proverb, "When the wind blows, the bamboo bends but does not break."

"From 1923 onwards," Bishop Heaslett, formerly Presiding Bishop of the N.S.K.K., has written, "with the emergence

*See *Japan—The Past and The Future.* S.P.C.K

of the national episcopate missionary work, and especially episcopal work, became, year by year, increasingly difficult. The Mukden 'incident' of 1931; the Marco Polo bridge 'incident' of 1937; the spread of the war in China to Shanghai in the same year; the nation-wide resentment at the opposition of Great Britain and the U.S.A. to the 'China Affair' (as it was officially called); all these, coupled with the resultant rampant nationalism in Parliament, press and people, brought into our Church Councils and into our personal relationships many and great spiritual dangers.

"There arose," the Bishop continues, "agitation against certain phrases and words in the Prayer Book. Some of them were considered inapplicable or derogatory to the Imperial dignity. Votes of thanks to the army and navy for their work in China were proposed in General Synod. Suggestions of visits to National Shinto shrines as a sign of loyalty were proposed, and irritation was caused by the fact that foreign missionary bishops should have a deciding vote in such purely national matters."

If some of those things seem startling to the Western reader, it must be remembered that Japanese Christians, like their fellow-countrymen, knew little or nothing of what was really happening in China. Propaganda for home consumption spoke of Japan's sacred mission to free the lands of Asia from the shackles of the materialistic West and to lead them into prosperity and peace under Japan's leadership. Similarly, the authorities specifically stated that attendance at State Shinto shrines was not a "religious" but a "patriotic" act. They drew this distinction because to them the latter was a matter that claimed the prime loyalty of a Japanese. So long as he placed his patriotic duty to Japan first he could, after that, hold any private religious belief he liked. But the statement was sufficiently equivocal for Christians to interpret it differently as meaning that they could go to the shrines without compromising their faith. The Roman Catholic Church made an official decision in accordance with that interpretation.

Thus the situation in Japan was rapidly becoming more difficult for the missionary from the sending Churches. The tension was particularly felt in the Anglican Church, because

our Church alone had major associations with Great Britain—and with her vast interests in China Great Britain was public enemy No. 1. That tension was increased in the autumn of 1937 when Dr. Cosmo Lang, then Archbishop of Canterbury, denounced Japan's policy of indiscriminate bombing in China at a meeting in the Albert Hall. The ensuing complications made still more difficult the position of the English missionary, and particularly the position of the English bishops.

All missionaries, however, not only English ones, were beginning to feel the strain—except a few happy and simple souls, who were wholly absorbed in their work and relationships with individuals and upon whose minds the wider issues at stake never registered. Perhaps in that connection I may be allowed to quote some words I used at the Conference of British Missionary Societies while on furlough in 1938, for they express what most of us were then feeling acutely: "There is for the Christian missionary in Japan a perpetual spiritual conflict going on within himself. A missionary in China may have many more physical dangers to face, but at least he is upheld by the assurance that he is one in heart and sympathy with his people. A missionary in Japan, even in war days, can indeed be grateful that he is able to carry on, and that his Japanese friends have, in many cases, gone out of their way to show him friendliness. But he can never forget that between him and them there is a whole undiscussable area—a gulf fixed. He sees a constant tendency in the Japanese Church to give way before the demands of nationalism. Again and again he feels he must say something. Yet he knows that anything he says will at best be regarded as springing from an ignorance inevitable in a foreigner, and at worst will bring his service in Japan to an abrupt conclusion. From this latter possibility he shrinks, for he feels that now, if ever, there is need to stand by the Japanese Church, and by so doing, to bear witness to the supra-national character of the Body of Christ. To what lengths, he constantly asks himself, can he go, bearing that general witness, while at the same time knowing he must remain silent on immediate issues?"

The crisis which brought an answer to that question came in the summer of 1940. The decisive defeat of France was a crushing blow for the weak liberal and democratic forces that

had fought a losing battle in Japan all through the nineteen-thirties. Germany's overwhelming victory (soon, it was believed, to be repeated over Britain) was convincing proof that totalitarian nationalism had won the day. There was a change of Cabinet that July, and very soon the authorities began an investigation of British organisations. The Rising Sun Petroleum Company (Shell Petrol) was first on the list. Next came the Salvation Army, which was forced to sever its connections with England, to give up its military organisation and to transform itself into a movement for moral uplift. The N.S.K.K. was apparently due to be investigated next.

The Bishop of Osaka (Dr. Naide), however, forestalled this move. He was a strong nationalist himself, and with the concurrence of his fellow Japanese bishops he approached the authorities concerned. They promised to leave the N.S.K.K. alone, provided that (*a*) the foreign bishops and all other foreigners in positions of authority resigned; (*b*) the Church ceased to receive financial support from abroad; and (*c*) full control of the Church's work was in Japanese hands. They were willing to allow foreign workers to remain, provided they worked under Japanese direction.

The Japanese bishops accepted these conditions, and then Bishop Naide presented the foreign bishops with the *fait accompli*. The three American bishops were absent in the United States at the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, but the decision taken by the Japanese bishops was communicated to the Church in America, as well as to the Church in England and Canada, and the three were back in Japan in time to confer with their Japanese and British colleagues before a final decision was reached. This decision was that resignation was inevitable, and by the end of 1940 six out of the seven foreign bishops had vacated their sees. Bishop Basil, of Kobe, however, refused to resign on grounds of principle, believing that a decision so reached should not determine the relinquishing of his episcopal and pastoral responsibilities. What the consequences would have been, had he been fit and well and remained in Japan, it is difficult to say. He was, however, a very sick man and had to go to the United States for treatment towards the end of 1940, and, though he returned to Japan for a brief interval and actually conducted an Ordination on February 2nd, 1941, his work

JUBILEE OF THE NIPPON SEI KO KWAI.

Part of the crowd who took part in the Jubilee Eucharist
at Tokyo, April, 1937.

was to all intents and purposes over. In the summer of 1941, after further treatment in the United States, he was flown to England, and in the spring of 1942 he died. Thus ended an episcopate that had contributed much to the life of the N.S.K.K. by its witness to the discipline and devotion of the Catholic tradition.

Before Bishop Basil left on his first journey to the States he made arrangements for the calling of a Synod of his diocese to elect an assistant bishop, and as a result the Rev. Michael Hinsuke Yashiro, of St. Michael's, Kobe, was consecrated in the late autumn of 1940. He was also placed in charge of the vacant diocese of Kyushu, and when Bishop Basil finally resigned his see on grounds of health in the autumn of 1941, he became Bishop of Kobe.

In South Tokyo diocese, Dr. Todomu Sugai, Principal of the Central Theological College, Tokyo, was in 1941 elected bishop in succession to Dr. Heaslett, and by the end of 1942 Japanese were also chosen for two of the three American-supported dioceses and for the C.M.S.-founded diocese of Hokkaido.

Thus the N.S.K.K. was able to face the war-years with its own Japanese leaders—and this was providential. The other Churches had developed Japanese leadership much earlier than the N.S.K.K. In our planning there was a good slice of Anglican caution: there was the customary Anglican reluctance to establish national sees without adequate endowments, while the canons of the Sei Ko Kwai laid it down that a national diocese could be established only when there was a sufficient number of self-supporting congregations in the area concerned. Apart from constitutional requirements there was observable a hesitancy to entrust the apostolic ministry to men unless there could be complete assurance of their fitness to uphold its traditions worthily. If things had remained unchanged in the years immediately preceding the war, the great majority of dioceses would have found themselves bereft of fathers-in-God after Pearl Harbour. As it was, the Church was able to carry on with its own leaders.

With the transfer of authority to a Japanese episcopate went the transfer of property and funds. All mission property and all Church property held in mission trusts was handed over, and so were the funds which the foreign bishops had been gradually building up for the endowment of Japanese sees.

AFTERMATH OF WAR.

Top : Tokyo after the bombing.

Left : One of the seventy ruined Anglican churches.

Right : A wooden parsonage put up in the nave of a bombed church for the homeless priest and his family.

pension funds, and so forth. Thus the N.S.K.K. entered the war period with considerable resources in property and invested capital. Here, too, the crisis of 1940 was not without its blessings in disguise. Had these funds remained in English, Canadian and American hands until the outbreak of war in the Far East, they would all have been subject to confiscation as enemy alien property, and the Church would have been left in parlous financial plight. "As promised," Bishop Heaslett has said, "'all things worked together for good' and much evil was thwarted."

The twelve months or so before Pearl Harbour were also marked by the withdrawal of the great majority of foreign workers. This was due to the fact that in some cases work for which the missionaries had come to Japan could no longer be undertaken, while in others the presence of Western workers was an embarrassment to their Japanese colleagues and friends. Anti-British and anti-American feeling was running high, not only in the nation, but in the Church in 1941; and withdrawal of the foreigners was a relief not only of conscience to the individuals concerned in many cases, but also of strain to the Japanese bishops of the dioceses in which they had worked.

Thus in small and large groups nine-tenths of the Anglican missionaries working in Japan began to leave. The Canadian and American missions recalled their workers in a body, and by December 1941 there were no members of the former and only one or two of the latter left in Japan. The three foreign members of the staff of the Central Theological College had to resign by March 1941 and by that summer the Rev. S. C. Woodward (C.M.S.) with his family was in Jamaica; the Rev. Lawrence Rose (American Mission) with his wife and daughters was back in the United States; and the present writer (who represented S.P.G.) with his family was in Canada.

Two other priests connected with S.P.G. left Japan during this period—the Rev. R. C. Parkinson, of S. Tokyo diocese, who accompanied Bishop Basil to the United States and then continued his journey to England; and the Rev. E. Badger, who with his wife and child left for Melbourne, Australia.

The Sisters of the Epiphany also withdrew to Melbourne. Miss Phillips and Miss Chope, of the Japan Women's University and the Hostel of the Morning Star in Tokyo,

went to Vancouver; Miss K. Tanner, of the Koran Girls' School, Tokyo, to Toronto; Miss D. Trott, of St. Mary's Hostel, Tokyo, to New Zealand; Miss Ruth Wordsworth, of S. Tokyo diocese, to British Columbia; Miss Voules, of Kobe diocese, to Australia. There was a parallel exodus of C.M.S. priests and women missionaries.

The links of leadership, service and financial support between the sending Churches and the Church in Japan thus grew perceptibly thinner. The spiritual link, however, remained as strong as ever. This was shown in the personal relationships between foreign workers and their Japanese friends and associates. There was indeed that impassable barrier to which I have referred above, but apart from that there was continued spiritual fellowship, there was true Christian friendship, there was unaffected kindness, courtesy and consideration. Many of us left Japan in days when anti-British posters and processions were the order of the day, when the whole nation was being inflamed with nationalistic fervour. Whatever one's friends may have thought of the policies of the democracies, however they may have felt about their own country's course, they allowed no coolness or hostility to affect their personal relations with us. The unifying power of the Gospel was stronger than the dissensions to which otherwise our relations would have been subject. And as it was in the days of tension before Pearl Harbour, so also it proved true in the far more difficult days after the outbreak of war.

A further quotation from Bishop Heaslett will perhaps bring this chapter to an appropriate close. "What the Church had been working up to slowly and steadily," he writes, "came to pass in one day. Where we were carefully and hesitatingly taking down the scaffolding from the Church building, pole by pole, forces outside the Church tore down carelessly and ruthlessly the whole body of supports. The building survived the storm that blew away its support and left it bare. The mother Church left rich resources in property and money, as well as some spiritual possessions. By reason of these the N.S.K.K. could be called in 1941 self-governing and self-reliant. It was not a large nor yet a perfect Church. But—so far, at least, as organisation went—it was a complete Church." Thus far had God prepared the Church for its great ordeal.

CHAPTER III

INTERNMENT AND RELEASE

When war came to the Far East in December 1941, there were just fourteen S.P.G. workers left in Japan. Their leader was Bishop Heaslett, who had remained in order that he might see after the welfare of the remaining missionaries from England—S.P.G. and C.M.S.,—and might be available for consultation should the Japanese bishops desire it. Two missionary priests were still left in the Kobe diocese—the Rev. G. N. Strong, for long in charge of the work at Shimonoseki, and the Rev. E. Allen, of St. Peter's, Kobe. The former had had to leave his station early in 1941 as the authorities had made it clear that the presence of foreigners in a "fortified area" was undesirable. He had moved to The Firs, Kobe (the Bishop's House), and from there had gone out regularly to the church in Himeji; even that had had to be given up towards the last. The Rev. E. Allen had had to resign the charge of St. Peter's Church, Kobe, but continued his work as S.P.G. secretary and treasurer for the diocese. He was also in charge of the Seamen's Mission Club. Both believed that in a vast country diocese such as Kobe, with an inadequate staff of Japanese priests, there was still room for them to work as assistants to their Japanese brethren, giving what strength and support they could to them in a situation fraught with great danger for the Christian cause and helping them in the task of ministering to widely-spread congregations and scattered groups of Christians.

Two civil chaplains remained—the Rev. T. P. Symonds, who had been chaplain of Christ Church, Yokohama, since 1937, and who had taken on the chaplaincy of St. Andrew, Tokyo, and the chaplaincy to the British Embassy on the departure of the present writer from Japan in May 1941; and the Rev. O. E. Brooks, who had been chaplain of All Saints, Kobe, since 1939. For over a year the communities to which these churches ministered had been shrinking, as the consuls had been getting all British and American residents, whose presence in Japan was not urgently necessary, out of the country before the break which seemed inevitable came.

In Tokyo, Miss A. K. Woolley and Miss M. E. Hailstone were still left at the Koran Girls' High School, and in Kobe Miss Leonora Lea and Mrs. Radford remained at the Shoin Girls' High School. Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Walker, who had run for many years with great success the English Mission School in Kobe, at which boys of many different nationalities received their education, were still carrying on. Miss Kathleen Shepherd, for long at work in the S. Tokyo diocese, and later at the leper settlement in Kusatsu, at the outbreak of war was with Miss Rosalind Simeon at Akashi in the Kobe diocese. Neither was able to do much in the way of evangelistic work, but both had an immediate task in caring for Miss Cornwall-Legh, that great-hearted Englishwoman who had founded the work among the lepers at Kusatsu under the auspices of the American Episcopal Mission. The fourteenth member of the S.P.G. group was Mrs. Allen, wife of the Rev. E. Allen.

C.M.S. was represented by five lady missionaries—Miss R. D. Howard, who had done yeoman service for many years in Osaka ; Miss S. L. K. Bushe, who worked in Tokyo mainly among families of better education ; Miss C. M. Richardson, of Tokushima, in Shikoku (the fourth and smallest of the four main islands that make up the land of Japan, and now in the area of the British occupation forces) ; Miss M. C. Baggs, of Fukuyama ; and Miss E. Nash, a retired worker still carrying on at a lonely station on the Japan sea coast. In addition, there were two independent lady missionaries of our Church—Miss K. Bagley, who was living at the Morning Star Hostel in connection with the Women's University in Tokyo, and Miss M. Nettleton, who was at the leper settlement at Kusatsu. The story that follows concerns them all.

The one who had to endure the most searing ordeal of all was the one who by age, position and devoted service to Japan deserved the greatest consideration—Bishop Heaslett. He heard the news of the declaration of war over the radio on the morning of December 8th. at 10 a.m. During the day he tried to adjust his mind to the new situation and think out how he and his fellow-missionaries could order their lives in the changed circumstances. At 4.30 p.m. detectives arrived at his house in the St. Andrew's compound in Tokyo, and he was " arrested on suspicion under the provisions of the Safety of the Realm Act." He was allowed time to dress

in his warmest clothes, to pack some sandwiches for supper, and then was taken to a police station in Yokohama. After twelve days in a crowded and insanitary cell he was moved to a prison where he was kept in solitary confinement. For over three months he was constantly interrogated on suspicion of being a spy whose purpose was to collect information for the Archbishop of Canterbury and the British Ambassador. Every effort short of physical violence was made to extort a confession, but no charge was ever formulated, and he was finally released on April 8th, 1942.

The Bishop, after his return to England, wrote a most moving account of his experiences in a book entitled, *From a Japanese Prison.** It is a simple, direct, photographically vivid narrative, which incidentally exposes the iniquities of the Japanese police system, with its tradition that every man arrested is guilty until he proves himself innocent. All the restrictions, the inhumanities, the atmosphere of fear and suspicion surrounding Japanese prison life, are laid bare, and also their devastating effects on the minds and souls of their victims. Yet throughout the story there shine out supremely the qualities of faith and devotion that marked all Bishop Heaslett's long years of service to Japan—qualities that were tested in the furnace of suffering and by the grace of God emerged only purified and deepened. Daily Offices said with the Bishop's own copy of the Revised Version given him by Archbishop Davidson and an American Prayer Book, supplemented by a Canadian Church Hymnal; Sunday celebrations of the Holy Eucharist, at which the elements were a small piece of Saturday's bread ration kept back, and water from the tap over which the Bishop said the words, " O Thou who at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee didst turn the water into wine . . ." ; knockings by which he told the other prisoners, many of them British and American, of the Services and by which they, in their turn, passed on to him their subjects for prayer—all these go to make up an inspiring and memorable story.

It is in the last chapter, however, that the Bishop, with an impressiveness all the greater for the marked restraint of his style, admits us to the inner significance of these outward

*Published by S.C.M. Press.

happenings. Arthur W. Hopkinson, in his recent book, *Mysticism : Old and New*,* writes : " One of the commonest ways of entering upon mystical experience is through a sense of *presence*, a conviction that there is something (or Someone) with us to guide, protect and comfort. Times of emergency become times of illumination. There come to us knowledge and power when we most need them."† Among the testimonies that he quotes is that of Bishop Heaslett. The particular occasion referred to took place towards the end of a gruelling day of interrogation, when human resources were at an end and prayer seemed unanswered. It was then that relief came in a wholly unexpected way. " There came into the room a Presence and a message, ' My grace is sufficient for thee and My strength is made perfect in thy weakness.' It stayed with me, having, as it were, a hand on my shoulder until the session ended. There was no insurge of strength. There was power given to endure—just that. There was the unexpected, promised Presence, the answer to my prayers, the mitigation of my fears."‡

Bishop Heaslett's experience will remain as one of the great examples of faith triumphant in adversity and of Divine grace sufficient for every need that have emerged from the Church's tribulation in the Far East. In an age when the secularist atmosphere of the time can so easily blur the outlines of our faith, such first-hand witness comes with tonic quality to invigorate and strengthen our own hold on the things of Christ.

The experiences of the other missionaries from Japan, as well as of those evacuated with them from China, were published in a booklet entitled *Interlude* soon after their return to this country. The only one to have any taste of the police station was the Rev. T. P. Symonds, who was kept in jail in Yokohama for three nights, then transferred to an internment camp for another three nights and then moved to the Embassy compound, where he was able to minister to the ninety members of the Embassy staff and their families for the months before repatriation. At Easter and Whitsuntide 1942 he was allowed to go to the Canadian and Australian

* Published by Nisbet. † p. 36. ‡ *From a Japanese Prison*, p. 58.

Legations to celebrate Holy Communion, and on the Sunday after Easter he was able to go to Christ Church, Yokohama, to celebrate the Eucharist for the women left there. Men from the internment camps in the district were allowed to be present.

Of the other Tokyo missionaries, Miss Bushe was allowed to remain in her own home and could still do some visiting; Miss Bagley was left at the Morning Star Hostel; and Miss Woolley and Miss Hailstone were permitted to continue their teaching at the Koran School. All were hesitant at first about attending the Japanese churches to which they had been accustomed to go. But all were allowed to do so, and all were welcomed by the congregations who, so far as personal relationships were concerned, remained as friendly as ever.

In Kobe the Rev. G. N. Strong and the Rev. E. Allen were interned in the buildings of the Canadian Academy, which was taken over as a camp for enemy nationals. In the middle of December they were joined by the Rev. O. E. Brooks. At first the administration was lenient. Permission was given for Holy Communion each Sunday before breakfast and for a mid-morning service; and on Christmas Day visitors were allowed at the service and wives of internees were given the opportunity of arranging a tea party. Later, conditions became more stringent, but services were held throughout the internment.

Mr. Walker was allowed to keep the English Mission School going with his wife, and he conducted Mattins at All Saints' Church each Sunday. Bishop Yashiro celebrated there whenever he could and, thanks to his intervention, it was possible to use the church up to the end of July, 1942.

Mrs. Radford and Miss Lea were allowed to live at home, but were not allowed to continue teaching at the Shoin School. With Mr. and Mrs. Walker they gave considerable help at one of the houses of the English Mission School, which was opened as a special centre for the distribution of food for enemy nationals. Mrs. Allen was permitted to stay on at the Seamen's Mission and was able to be of great service when the Mission buildings were taken over for about 130 American internees brought from Guam.

Of the other S.P.G. and C.M.S. ladies in Japan, Miss Shepherd was interned after Miss Cornwall Legh's death in

December 1941, and so were Miss Nash and Miss Baggs. The rest were confined to their own homes under greater or less constraint, according to the nature of the local authorities.

So the months of internment went by in not intolerable conditions. The winter was hard, for fuel was very short and the problem of food became increasingly acute. Still, no one starved, and it was not so much on the physical side that the ordeal of internment bore heavily. Restriction on personal liberty, the lack of authentic news about one's relations and about the progress of the war, uncertainty about the time of repatriation and whether one would be included in the list of those to return home or not—these were the real causes of strain in Japan as elsewhere.

Fortunately, for those in Japan and for some in China the time of internment was short. On July the 30th 1942, the *Tatsuta Maru*, one of the famous liners of the N.Y.K., sailed from Yokohama with the whole Embassy staff and consular body and with the great majority of British residents still in Japan, including all Anglican missionaries except five—Miss Lea, who was left behind at Kobe because she was registered as a Canadian citizen though with a British passport; Miss Nash, Miss Baggs, Miss Bagley and Miss Nettleton. It was hoped that they would be repatriated later, but arrangements fell through and, in the end, they remained in Japan throughout the war.

The *Kamakura Maru* followed from Shanghai, and at Lourenco Marques, in Portuguese East Africa, the British being repatriated from Japan and China exchanged ships with the Japanese returning from British territory. On October the 9th. the two ships, *Narkunda* and *El Nil* dropped anchor in the Mersey, and the Church at home welcomed back to its fellowship those who had been its last representatives in Japan and those fortunate enough to be repatriated from China.

So ended, for the time being, the direct association of the Church of England with its sister communion in Japan. Yet the testimony of those who returned made it clear that the spiritual bonds remained unbroken across the barriers of war. Miss Woolley told of how just before she and Miss Hailstone left the Koran School the priest-in-charge of the church in the same compound arranged a special farewell Eucharist, at

which over 50 people were present, including Bishop Matsui and his daughter, herself a graduate of the school. The same afternoon there was a farewell gathering at the school, with a speech of thanks made in English by one of the girls. Mr. Allen reported that "when evacuees left Kobe station on July 29th they were seen off by more than a hundred Japanese, most of them weeping" And Bishop Heaslett who, after his release from prison, was allowed to live at home, wrote as follows: "During those months I had nearly one hundred and fifty friends of all kinds—bishops, clergy, laity, men and women and children, officials and neighbours—who came to see me. . . . What touched me most of all was the arrival of whole families to say good-bye. I'd seen them in their own homes; I'd ordained the father, married the parents, baptised the children, rejoiced at their school successes; and here they came as happy, as friendly, as natural in their conduct to me, an enemy alien, as if the word 'enemy' had been deleted from their vocabulary, as indeed it had been in effect by the word 'Love your enemies . . .'"

It was indeed with mixed feelings that those who were repatriated left Japan. There was relief at the ending of the internment and at emergence from what one of them described as "the world of baseless propaganda, quarter truths and deliberate lies," in which they had been living for months. There was sadness at the relinquishment of work to which they had given their lives, and at the parting from friends and associates, whom in many cases they might never see again. But above all there was the joy that remained through the proving of the truth of St. Paul's words in the furnace of war, "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

Meanwhile a further development was taking place. The triumph of totalitarianism meant greater rigidity and stricter control all round. Accordingly, the Government authorities began to make it clear that they were not prepared to grant recognition to all and sundry. Unification was the watchword in every other branch of life, why not among the various Christian Churches? So the word went forth that the Government expected all Christians, from Roman Catholics to Pentecostals, to unite. It soon became clear, however, that any such reunion was impossible. Between Rome and the Protestant bodies there was a great gulf fixed. "All right," said the Government, "then how about two Christian bodies—Roman Catholic and the rest?"

This plan was acceptable, of course, to the Roman Catholic Church, and also to most of the Protestant denominations. In October, 1940, some seventeen Protestant bodies made this clear at a great united Christian rally in Tokyo. This rally had been planned months before, but in the new circumstances it was made the occasion for a declaration that the participating denominations were ready to unite. It must not be thought, however, that this declaration was due solely to Government pressure. For many years there had been a strong movement among many, particularly of the laity, in the Protestant Churches for reunion. In a land still so far from being evangelised it seemed a shameful waste of human and financial resources that bodies not fundamentally divided should remain apart, just because of divisions that belonged solely to the West.

Although some of the laity of the N.S.K.K. felt similarly, the Church, as a whole, realised that the Anglican Communion had a special vocation in Japan, as elsewhere, to be a "bridge-church," holding in tension the heritage of Catholic faith and order which it had received from the undivided Church together with the insights of the Reformation. Thus the House of Bishops declared a few days before the rally that it was ready to consider the matter of reunion on the basis of the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

Events, however, were moving too fast politically for careful theological discussion. By the early part of 1941 a new "United Christian Church," composed at first of the seventeen

denominations mentioned above, and later including all Protestant bodies except the Seventh Day Adventists, came into existence. Before the outbreak of war in December 1941 this body, and also the Roman Catholic Church, had received their *ninka*. It should be added that the United Church was, particularly in the early days, much more of a federation than a real union. Each congregation, it would seem, maintained its forms of worship and its traditions of teaching just as before.

The situation was thus rapidly developing into a crisis for the N.S.K.K., as also for the Orthodox Church in Japan. The 1940 Act of Parliament had allowed two years for the various bodies to revise their constitutions and obtain legal recognition. The time-limit expired in March 1942. The Church had accepted and passed the revised constitution and canons in the Spring of 1941, but when December 1941 dawned the Sei Ko Kwai had still not been granted a *ninka*. One group in the Church, headed by the Bishop of Osaka and his son-in-law and Suffragan Bishop Yanagihara, believed that the Sei Ko Kwai would be wise to give up its attempt to obtain recognition and should enter the United body. They stressed the federal character of the new organisation and emphasised that, under its legal protection, there was every reason to believe that the Sei Ko Kwai would have a considerable measure of freedom. The larger group of Church leaders, however, headed by Bishops Sasaki, Yashiro and Sugai, felt that the Church would be compromised in its distinctive witness by absorption within a Protestant organisation marked by credal vagueness. The Sei Ko Kwai, therefore, continued to press for separate recognition.

The outbreak of war in December 1941 reduced the chances of such recognition to vanishing point. What likelihood could there now be that the authorities would extend favourable treatment to the one Church that had had till so recently official connections with Japan's two leading enemies—the United States and Great Britain ? So March 1942 came and went, and no *ninka* was granted.

The N.S.K.K. was thus no longer entitled to exist legally as a corporate body. Accordingly, the executive body of the Church took the necessary action a few months later to suspend

the revised constitution and canons. Thereby the Church as a legal body ceased to be. Individual congregations could still exist, but only as separate legal entities. Each came under the immediate control of the local authorities, who in many cases were far more obtuse and difficult than the officials of the Ministry of Education, who had had dealings with Christian bodies all their lives. Moreover, all the Church's invested funds, except those belonging to the Central Theological College, had to be divided up between the different congregations. Theoretically all meetings of leaders of the Church and all attempts to keep any kind of general supervision in being were barred ; but in fact a good deal of official " turning the blind eye" took place.

Each congregation thus had to decide its course of action. The Bishop of Osaka and Bishop Yanagihara, consistently with their previous line of action, led all the congregations of Osaka diocese into the United Church. Bishop Matsui, of Tokyo, made a similar decision, though not till 1944, and altogether about a third of the Sei Ko Kwai congregations followed suit. The remaining two-thirds stayed outside.

Thus the Church was divided by schism. And it would be idle to pretend that schism was unaccompanied by hard feelings. Those who remained independent could not but feel that they were the faithful remnant, the staunch opponents of unjustifiable Government demands, the loyal guardians of Catholic faith and order. That feeling was increased as they saw first Bishop Sasaki arrested for questioning ; then, when he was released on grounds of ill-health, Bishop Sugai arrested in his place ; and finally Bishop Yashiro suffering very definite persecution, as the championship of the Sei Ko Kwai congregations more and more devolved upon his shoulders.

Yet it is Bishop Yashiro who says : " It is important to avoid sentimentalism and melodrama in considering this matter. Those who went into the Union were people who were faced with the actual situation, had to think it out and take action. I do not wish any sentimentalism to be associated with the so-called ' Remnant Church.' It included not only those who stayed out of the Union by conviction, but also many who did not have to face the problem and make an actual decision."

Our own sympathies are likely to be so definitely with those who held on in an intolerable situation that it is necessary for us to remember that generous and wise statement, and to make an imaginative effort to understand the point of view of those who joined the United Church. To all Japanese in 1942 the idea of military defeat was inconceivable. Sooner or later, they believed, Japan would win the war and the nationalistic elements would be supreme in any forseeable future. What hope was there, argued Bishop Naide and his sympathisers, for isolated independent congregations ? They might endure for a time, as the non-jurors did in England, but in the end they were bound to disappear. On the other hand, by going into the United body with its federal organisation, they urged, there was the guarantee of Government recognition, there would be opportunity for continuing the Sei Ko Kwai's distinctive worship, there would be freedom to expand and grow. In accordance with this line of approach the two bishops who entered the Union in 1942, together with Bishop Matsui, sought with the best intentions to guarantee the continuance of the episcopal succession within the new organisation by consecrating as bishops seven priests who were joining the Union ; and a 'gentleman's agreement' was reached with the authorities of the United Church that no future ordinations should take place without the opportunity being given for some of these bishops to join in the laying-on of hands. These consecrations were not recognised by those who remained outside, and so a fresh cause of cleavage and hard feeling was created.

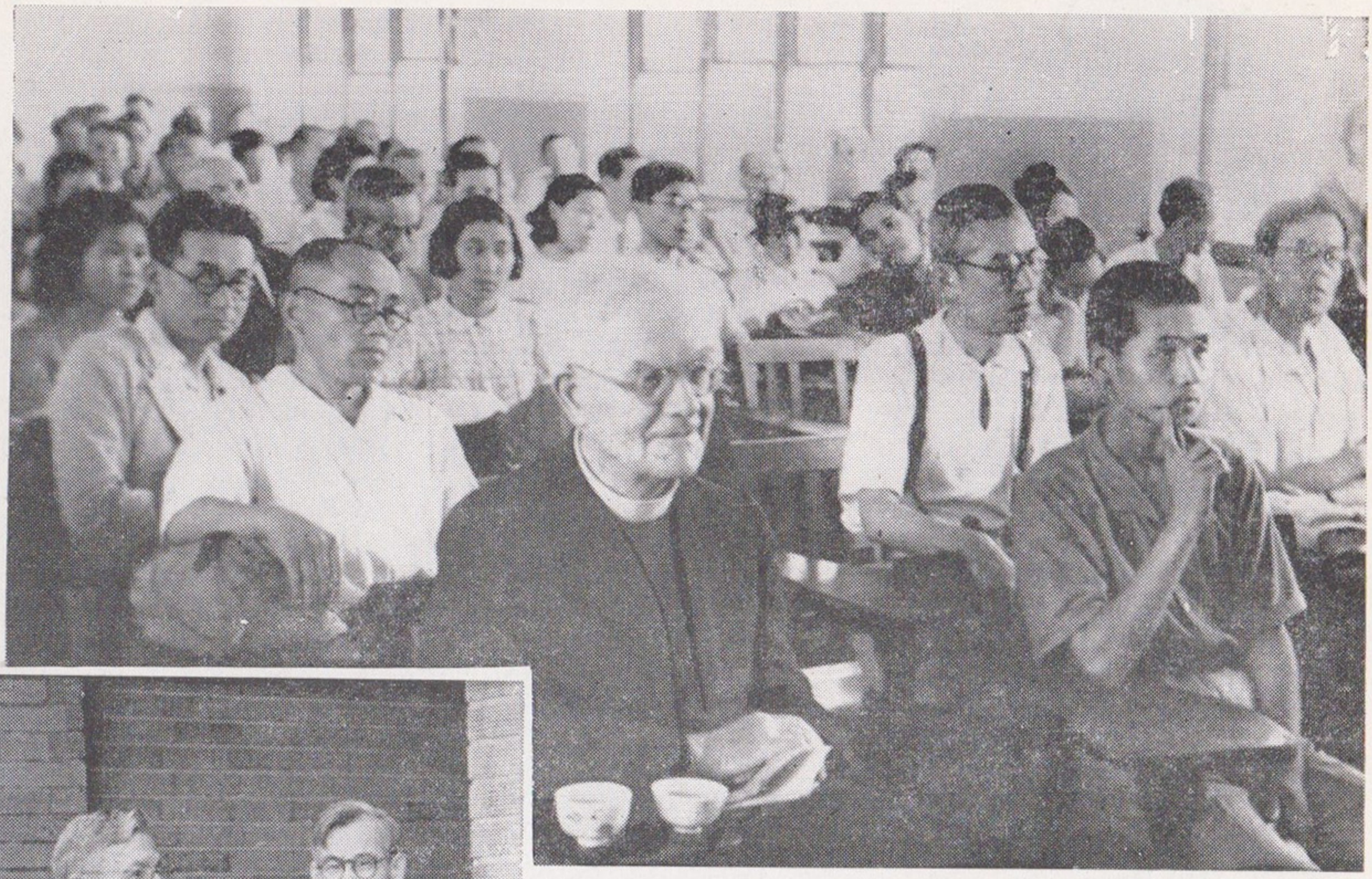
We who approach these matters with the background of centuries of Christian tradition and corporate life behind us need to enter into these difficulties of a young, small and inexperienced Church with sympathy and forbearance. There were mistakes of judgment and failures of charity on both sides. Those who remained out of the United Church were sometimes weak and fumbling in the quality of their leadership ; those who entered the Union did not always take care to use their vantage point of Government recognition to help rather than embarrass their brethren who had followed a different course. To quote Bishop Yashiro once again : " Much of the difficulty arose from the fact that N.S.K.K. had not enough history behind it to face the problem. If the

Sei Ko Kwai had had a long history and period of Christian education, it could have seen the problem in its historical perspective. This lack of experience was the cause of much uncertainty in the minds of Sei Ko Kwai leaders as to their right course."

Those words are worth pondering, not only as we look back on the war-time situation in Japan, but also as we think of the trials and difficulties likely to face the younger Churches in other parts of the world in days to come.

The war brought other trials to the Church in Japan besides the break in its unity. There is no indication that Christian Japanese opposed the Government's general policy or regarded the war as other than a just one. Were not the nations in the West, in their wealth and power—they were constantly reminded,—selfishly and jealously trying to stifle Japan and prevent the natural growth of her beneficent leadership in the Far East ? Nevertheless, Christians in many cases did come under suspicion, especially those who refused to enter the Government-sponsored union. What was the reason for this refusal, the authorities asked,—and so also did their war-minded neighbours. It is not difficult to supply the answers. Lingering attachment to Britain and America, desire for peace at any price, " fifth-columnism "—these were the charges bandied round in many places. Some Christians were affected. They felt they had come to the parting of the ways and left the Church. One leading educationalist at St. Paul's University in Tokyo openly renounced his Christianity on the day war was declared, and non-Christian forces were allowed to gain control of the university and to treat its beautiful chapel with sacrilege.

Congregations suffered also through national mobilisation and through the institution of a seven-day working week. Priests were called up and parishes had to be joined together. One service a Sunday with a greatly diminished congregation became the order of the day. Incomes inevitably dropped, and as the war continued the cost of living rose. In some cases priests took up secular work to obtain an adequate livelihood ; in almost every case parishes used up the share of invested funds that had fallen to them to pay current expenses.



VISIT OF ANGLICAN COMMISSION TO JAPAN,
SUMMER, 1946.

Top : Mass meeting at Ikebukuro, July 18, 1946. Bishop Heaslett, formerly Presiding Bishop, is seen in the foreground.

Left : Bishop Reifsneider the American delegate, with Bishop Sugai.

Bottom : The two British delegates, Bp. Mann and Bp. Heaslett.

Then, as the Americans began "island-hopping" and more and more of Japan came within bombing radius, the Church began to suffer from the devastating raids meted out to Japan's cities of matchwood. Of these 119 suffered anything up to 90 per cent. destruction. These raids continued till the end, growing ever more terrible, until they reached their climax in the dropping of the two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively. Yet some of the fire-raids were as ghastly. The delegation from the American Protestant Churches that visited Japan in the autumn of 1945 for instance, reported that of all the cities which had been devastated "none fared worse than Tokyo itself. There, on the night of March 9th 1945, one hundred thousand people are said to have been roasted to death or, if they took refuge in shallow pools, boiled to death, or, if they leaped into the canal, as they did by tens of thousands, crushed or drowned."

These raids, which were the direct cause of the Emperor's decision to surrender, meant widespread destruction of churches and parsonages. Altogether 71 churches of the Sei Ko Kwai (between a quarter and a third of the whole) were destroyed, and an equivalent proportion of parsonage houses. The Shiba compound in Tokyo, with the English and Japanese St. Andrew's churches, the bishop's house, the Japanese parsonage and St. Mary's hostel—a compound that was the cradle of S.P.G. work in Japan and the centre for many years of the religious life of the British community—was completely gutted. The Central Theological College buildings and most of the staff residences at Ikebukuro were also burnt out. So also were the Momoyama Boys' School in Osaka and the Koran Girls' School in Tokyo. The Shoin Girls' School in Kobe was partially destroyed. The churches were also seriously affected by the widespread evacuation of the people from the cities as the raids became serious, for Christianity in Japan is essentially an urban faith. Its roots are in the cities and not in the country districts.

With all these difficulties and dangers, with schism, the using up of funds, the destruction of church buildings, the scattering of congregations, the wonder is not that a certain number of defections took place, but that the Church has survived at all. And that is the glorious fact. The Western

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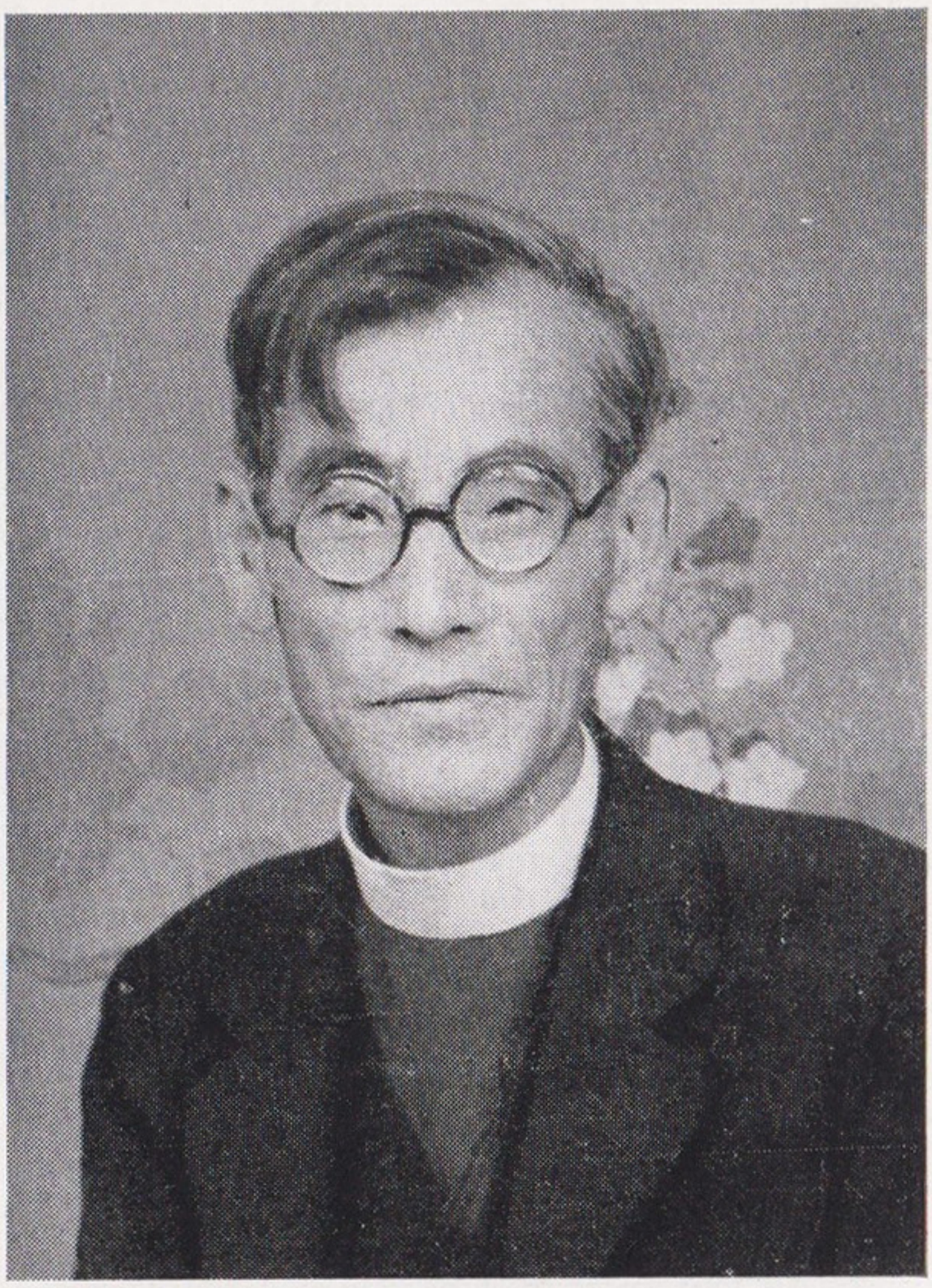

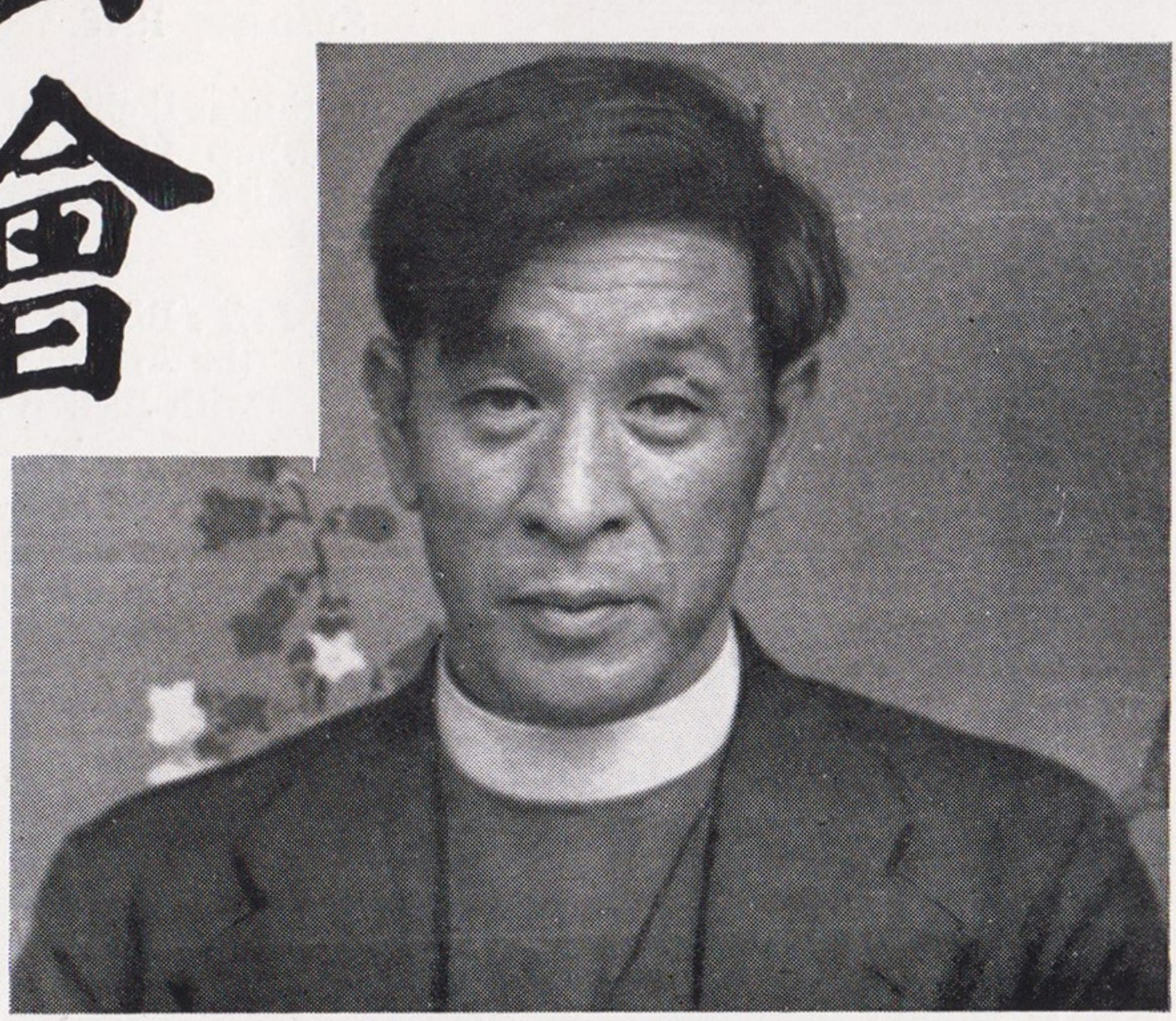

THE NIPPON SEI KO KWAI TODAY.

Above : Bishop Sugai of S. Tokyo, Presiding Bishop.

Below : Bishop Yashiro of Kobe and Kyushu.

nations have waged completely indiscriminate warfare against Japan, culminating in the horrors of the atomic bomb, yet the Church which has received its knowledge of the Gospel from those same nations has survived. The Church has come through its ordeal, weakened in material resources and reduced in numbers, yet still holding on loyally and faithfully to the truth of the Christian Faith. Like Israel in the Exile, the Church in Japan has passed through the fires and has emerged as still the people of God. It must be our hope and prayer that, like post-exilic Judaism, it may continue to be the instrument of His purpose and the environment of His redeeming activity.

CHAPTER V

RECOVERY AND OPPORTUNITY

In August 1945 the war in the Far East ended with dramatic and unexpected suddenness. As Bishop Yashiro put it in a letter he wrote to the Secretary of the Kobe Fellowship: "Terrible bombing, awful earthquake, lack of food, atom bombing, Emperor's voice—peace—then American Army."

With the close of hostilities communications became once more possible with the Church in Japan. Bishop Yashiro and Miss Lea were able to write from Kobe telling of the Church situation and of conditions there. News also came from two former missionaries who returned as officers of the occupation forces—Paul Rusch, the dynamic founder and leader in pre-war days of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew in Japan, now a colonel in the United States Army, and the Rev. E. Badger, who had become an intelligence officer with the Australian forces. In the autumn of 1945 a representative delegation from the Protestant Churches of America visited the United Church, and shortly afterwards Bishop Binsted, formerly Bishop of Tohoku in north-east Japan and now Bishop of the Philippines, was able to pay an informal visit on behalf of the Presiding Bishop of the American Episcopal Church. Finally, in the summer of 1946 an official Anglican Commission, consisting of Bishops Heaslett and Mann, who represented the Church of England; Bishop Reifsnider, who represented the American Episcopal Church; and the Rev. H. G. Watts, who represented the Church of England in Canada, was able to visit the N.S.K.K. Bishop Binsted wrote a report of his impressions, and the two delegations have published accounts of their visits. The American Protestant report was published in America under the title, *The Return to Japan*, but copies are not readily obtainable in England.* The Anglican Commission's report, *The Church in Post-War Japan* has been published in England by the Press and Publications Board (*price* 8*d*,) and is easily accessible. It should be read by all concerned with the

*A few copies are available at S.P.G. House

future of our Church, and its distinctive contribution to the part Christian forces may well be called upon to play in the coming years in Japan.

There is thus considerable evidence for reconstructing the Japanese scene as it is to-day. What are the things that stand out ? First, without doubt, the immense physical destruction of Japan's cities and the distress of her people. We are accustomed now to reading of the appalling devastation of the cities of Germany, of the utterly inadequate supplies of food and fuel and clothing ; of the black market and inflation, and all the evil consequences, physical and moral, that flow from the collapse of a civilisation. We do not realise so vividly that the same tragic story is true of Japan also.

" The first impression of the cities of Japan," wrote the American deputation, " which a visitor of to-day receives as he comes from Atsugi Airport through Yokohama to Tokyo is one of vast devastation.

" One passes mile after mile of city blocks completely levelled. There are many vantage points at which one can stand in those cities and, looking in any direction, see nothing but twisted pipes, chimneys still standing here and there and broken tiles and rubble covering a terrain as level as the surface of the sea.

" Air raids burned or destroyed nearly two and a-half million buildings in Japan, including two million structures classified as residences. Bombs completely wiped out three hundred and thirty thousand military, governmental, industrial and commercial buildings. In addition, ten thousand were partially burned or wrecked and a hundred thousand more dwellings partly destroyed ! "*

Miss Lea wrote similarly of the situation in Kobe in the last days of the war and afterwards. After describing how Bishop Yashiro had " his church, house, books, clothes and the possessions of the missionaries which he was keeping " all burnt, and how he had " built himself a small shack out of the debris of his church," she continued : " The food situation in Japan is very acute. The doctors calculate that we get enough food to feed only an invalid in bed. The whole

**The Return to Japan*, p. 9

nation lives by the black market or dies on the rations. How the bishop and his family keep alive on 150 *yen* a month I cannot think. . . . Since the carpet bombing on June 5th, 1945, when most of Kobe was wiped out, my house has been full of refugees and it was made the centre for food distribution among enemy nationals. It has been a hectic life, as we had to bring the old ladies and invalids down to the front door once or twice a night during the subsequent raids and sit there till they were over, and the daytime was spent in distributing bread and other food as we were able to get it." Miss Lea's record of untiring relief work in face of almost insuperable odds is one of great heroism and courage which will live long in missionary annals. S.P.G. has indeed cause to be proud of its last surviving representative in Japan.

The Anglican Commission, too, commented on the appalling dislocation of life in the towns. It is true that they saw signs of activity in the countryside where the farming population is as busy as ever. But even with good harvests there cannot be enough food to go round. " Dominating everything," they reported, " is the lassitude that comes from lack of nourishment. . . . Conditions become acute when distribution is delayed, when money does not rise to the fancy prices demanded in the open market for the very necessities of life. . . . True, we have not seen people lying down in the streets to die from starvation, but a young pastor will tell you how he lost his wife through illness brought on by malnutrition, and another will explain why his child has not yet the strength to walk."*

Malnutrition with its steady sapping of vitality in the physical sphere is apparently combined with a spirit of apathy in the psychological, to be accounted for by the failure of Japan's " divine mission " ; both contribute to " a lack of initiative in the work of restoration " which the Anglican delegation noted as one of the things that troubles " the old hand." The Japanese people are, indeed, both hungry and stunned, and it is too early to say in which direction they will move when the process of recovery begins. All one can say at the moment is that General MacArthur is as aware of these long-term problems in the psychological and spiritual

**The Church in Post-War Japan*, p. 5

sphere as he is of the more immediate questions of day-by-day administration, and that he is seeking patiently, but firmly, to build up a new democratic Japan which may in due time take her place as a peaceful member of the family of nations. In guiding the nation in this new direction he fully recognises the part the Christian Church can play in giving the people of Japan that spiritual faith and outlook in which alone democracy can grow and flourish as a healthy plant.

What then of the Christian forces in Japan? Not much information has come through about the Roman Catholic Church, but, so far as one can gather, it has survived the war unscathed in its constant witness to the central truths of the Christian faith, yet suffering as heavily in the material sphere as every other body in Japanese life. It had the advantage of not being cut off from all communication with the Vatican, as other Christian bodies were from their sister-communions in other lands, but before receiving Government recognition in 1941 it had had to replace its foreign bishops with Japanese nationals—as the N.S.K.K. had had to do in the crisis of the summer of 1940.

The United Church survived as a convenient "bomb-shelter," as some Japanese members described it. That is to say, no Japanese Christians in it liked the autocratic rule imposed on it by the Government, with one head having the power of making all appointments and being responsible himself to the authorities for the loyal behaviour of all. But they accepted this irksome measure of control because within a Government-recognised body they were able to carry on their faith and practice undisturbed and because, in fact, many of them had wanted union and worked for it for many years. The American delegation came to two conclusions about the future of the United Church. First, they believed that it would not continue as it had existed in the war years. Not only would religious organisations that were not in any sense churches, *e.g.* the Bible Society, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., *etc.*, naturally resume their independence and freedom of action, but also the constitution of the Church would, they believed, be reorganised on a democratic basis more congenial to the authentic spirit of Protestantism. Secondly, they were quite clear that something had happened in the war years

that would not be undone. It might be that some Christian bodies, *e.g.* the Friends or the Salvation Army,* might desire to reconstitute themselves in view of their distinctive outlooks and organisations, but the great majority would not want to go back to the multiplicity of denominations such as existed in pre-war days. We must reckon in future on a strong united Protestant Church in Japan, essentially orthodox in its fundamental confession of faith, yet embracing within itself different traditions of Christian thought and different types of worship. This Church, too, is faced with all the multiplicity of problems arising from the destruction of church buildings, the scattering of congregations and the immense rise in the cost of living.

In addition to these general problems which face all Christian Churches in Japan to-day, our own Church has had to face the two grievous problems of its own legal dissolution and of division within its ranks. The two problems were closely related, for, as we have seen, the division was caused not by fundamental questions of faith and order, but by an honest difference of opinion as to how the Anglican heritage of Evangelical Catholicism could best be preserved when the Church legally ceased to be.

With Japan's defeat in 1945 and the repeal of her war-time Government's discriminatory legislation, the situation was transformed. The way was now open for the N.S.K.K. to solve the first problem and to resume its existence as a corporate, legally recognised body. " First ascertaining that the Japanese Government authorities saw no objection to the re-organisation of Nippon Sei Ko Kwai on a denominational basis, the House of Bishops proceeded to resuscitate the Constitution and Canons as they had been amended," not by the Twentieth General Synod of 1941, which re-shaped them with a view to obtaining a *ninka*, but " by the Nineteenth General Synod in 1938; and later in the autumn a special General Synod was summoned which re-established the various organs of the Church."† Thus the N.S.K.K. was once more a legal body.

* The Salvation Army has, in fact, done so.

†*The Church in Post-War Japan*, p. 9

The next step was to seek the restoration of those who had joined the amalgamation. The bishops issued a Pastoral Letter inviting the return of those who had left, and in response a small number of clergy and laity were restored.

It was not, however, until the Anglican Commission arrived in Japan that the breach was in any effective sense healed. Bitterness, lack of mutual intercourse and hard feelings had created an atmosphere not conducive to reunion. Here the members of the Anglican delegation had a double advantage. They had all had long experience of service in Japan, and yet were in no way involved in the controversies and divisions. They were thus able to receive the confidences of both groups and to serve as an instrument of reconciliation. The climax of their work in this direction came on the eve of their departure from Japan, when they received a telegram which read, " Reconciliation service happily accomplished." This told them of the restoration of the Osaka diocese. Thus the largest group of churches to enter the Union came back ; and, as Osaka diocese returned to membership in the established Nippon Sei Ko Kwai, so practically all the other Churches that had followed a similar course have come back. Those who had been consecrated as bishops before going into the union have been accepted again as priests. The Sei Ko Kwai has left over the question of the validity of their consecrations, but regards them as, in any case, irregular, as they were not carried out in accordance with the Church's canons. So to all intents and purposes the second problem confronting our Church has been solved.

It should be added that this reunion is not only a matter of thankfulness to members of the Anglican Communion, but is also recognised as the right course by the leaders of the United Church. Neither in the mission field or elsewhere can there be any justification for continuing the unhappy divisions of Christendom, unless a particular branch of the Church feels that it has a distinctive insight into and understanding of the Christian faith which it holds in trust for that reunited Church of Christ for which we hope and pray. The Anglican Church has in its Reformed and Evangelical Catholicism, we believe, such a distinctive tradition. In Japan its witness would have been grievously hindered if those who

joined the union—for the most part of the Evangelical wing—had not returned. As it is, a fuller and richer life is again possible for the Church with all of gain that can accrue from the cross-fertilisation of the different traditions within Anglicanism. Once more the Church can hold out hands both towards Rome and towards Protestantism, and can prevent the Christian forces in Japan from being divided into two opposing camps.

The next problem that faces the Church is the deepening of its own spiritual life. The schism has been healed, but not all the bitterness and estrangement have yet gone. There must be growth in the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. There must also be a clearer grasp of Christian fundamentals and of all that is involved in Christian discipleship. The war years have been a time of sifting, and not all have stood the test. Some have fallen by the way ; some have been confused and uncertain ; some looking back are conscious that their witness has been halting and inadequate.

There are signs, however, that many in that category are anxious to make a fresh start. " Most of the Christians," wrote Bishop Binsted, " feel the inadequacy of their witness during the war, and with true humility wish to make up for their failures in past years." And on every hand, both in Japan and in other lands, there is the evidence of what the bishop calls " individual shining examples."

The Anglican Commission for instance, tells of a Tokyo priest " who lost church and parsonage, wife and family, woman worker and church members in the fires that swept his ward " (borough), and yet could " present nine candidates from that stricken area for confirmation at a church right across the wide city of Tokyo." The booklet in this series on Singapore tells of the courageous witness of Lt. Ogawa, a graduate of St. Paul's University, Tokyo, and a keen member of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, in supporting Bishop Wilson. And readers of the *Times* may remember a letter from Emile Cammaerts in January, 1946, in which he quotes the testimony of a friend who was a prisoner-of-war in Hong-Kong : " The Japanese Christians were particularly good to us and took risks to help us. You can always spot a Japanese Christian, he behaves differently from the rest. I wish it were the same in England."

So the Church, rising from the oppression and the destruction of the war-years, has pledged itself in this new day to a fresh campaign of evangelism. For this the omens are promising. State Shinto has led Japan to disaster, and in the souls of her people there is a spiritual void. If the Church can rise to the opportunity with insight and courage, it may indeed achieve much for the Kingdom of Christ.

In this task the N.S.K.K. will need leadership of a high order. That leadership must be Japanese, and it will be necessary for the Church to throw up fresh leaders in the near future. Bishop Sasaki, for instance, who was translated to Tokyo in 1944 and became Presiding Bishop, died just before Christmas 1946 from heart trouble and the strain of the war-years. Bishop Nakamura, of Tohoku, is a very sick man. Further, not all those who were consecrated so hastily in 1941 have justified their choice. Bishop Sugai, of South Tokyo, who has recently been elected Presiding Bishop, and Bishop Yashiro, of Kobe and Kyushu, are the two with the greatest gifts of leadership. They need to be supported by others who also can think of the Church's mission and work, not just in terms of the winning of isolated individuals here and there to Christ (though that work, of course, must have a vital place), but also in terms of the extension into the social and political conditions of post-war Japan of the Kingdom of Him Who became incarnate that He might redeem the whole of life.

The Church in Japan stands in great need of our prayers, our sympathy and our support in fulfilling this task. By the warmth of its welcome to the members of the Anglican Commission it has revealed its joy in its restoration to the fellowship of the Anglican Communion. And, while it has reiterated its determination to be self-sufficient financially (even in these days when the cost of living has increased tenfold), it has yet accepted gratefully the offer of the Churches of the West to help in three directions. The first is in the provision of simple parsonage houses with one or two rooms added that may be used as places of worship for the immediate future. The second is in guaranteeing the stipends and expenses of the bishops for a period of six years, so that they may be set free from personal financial anxiety, and with untroubled

minds may give themselves to the work of rehabilitation and renewal. The third is in assisting the training of ordinands by the provision of salaries for the teaching staff of the resuscitated Central Theological College.

The sum to be raised in all amounts to just over £70,000. Of this the American Church has undertaken to raise 50 per cent., the Canadian Church 15 per cent. and the Church of England 35 per cent., or approximately £25,000. S.P.G. has agreed to be responsible for sending £15,000 of this, and C.M.S. for the remaining £10,000. There is to be no special appeal as has been made for the West Indies and for China, but there is here clearly an urgent call to Churchpeople in Britain to help in the reconstruction of the Church in a land which now lies defeated and helpless, but which will assuredly rise again and play a part in the life of the Far East.

There will also be some opportunities of personal service in days to come, particularly for those who can bring special gifts to the service of the Church in Japan. The present desperate situation as regards both food and housing, however, makes such service impossible in the immediate future, except for one or two picked individuals who can go out immediately, mainly in a liaison capacity. In that connection it is good to know that the Rev. E. H. Arnold, for long in charge of Japanese work in Korea, is shortly to be sent by S.P.G. to Japan by agreement with the Sei Ko Kwai.

Our story began with the Jubilee celebrations in the grounds of the Central Theological College at Ikebukuro, in Tokyo, in 1937. Let it end with a reference to another great gathering held in July, 1946, in St. Paul's University, just across the road from the site of the now burnt-out Theological College. Here the Sei Ko Kwai said farewell to the Anglican Commission that had brought it messages of greeting from the Churches of the West. Here also the Sei Ko Kwai pledged itself to the new campaign of evangelism, its members united again in the fellowship of the One Body and confident that the Churches of England, the United States and Canada would not fail in practical help.

Whether that confidence is well placed depends on us. "It has often been said"—so the report of the Anglican

Commission concludes—" that the Church in the West lost a golden opportunity in the past for witnessing to the Faith in this country. Be that as it may, there can be no question that the providence of God has now given us a new opportunity which we dare not neglect. May God Himself give us wisdom in buying up this opportunity that we may strengthen the hands of our brethren in Japan as they labour for peace in the name of Christ."

FURTHER READING

From a Japanese Prison. S. Heaslett. S.C.M. Press, 2/-

The Church in Post-War Japan. Report of the Anglican Commission to Nippon Sei Ko Kwai. Press & Publications Board, 8*d.*

Japan—The Past and The Future. C. Kenneth Sansbury, S.P.C.K. 6*d.*

O.895. *Roffey & Clark, Ltd., Printers,* 12 *High Street, Croydon*

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